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riots. They created as much disturbances as they can through many number of ways. These were such as, they damaged the things, houses etc. and peace was not there in the society.

In order to suppress the riots the Company appointed Head for each of the caste for the betterment of the people in an easy and better way. The relationship between the Company and the working groups were very much uneven. One of the main reason for the groups to go against the Government was the heavy burden of the various taxes. The British always viewed these riots as factious madness and tries many ways to suppress them and mostly succeeded. However we could see some instances where the relation between the Government and the groups were bargainable, for instance, in the case of the Washermen demanded for more washers as there was lot of clothes and very less people. So the Government brought Washermen from various places and appointed to assist them. They also complained of the wages to be less

which must be increased as they are doing a tough job of cleaning much clothes and it was also considered.

Conclusion

To conclude it can be said that for the growth and expansion of Madras and the trade, the role played by the painters, the potters and the washers was crucial. Their outcome was necessary for the smooth functioning of the trade. History cannot ignore the immeasurable part played by the working caste groups. The above study shows that the hierarchical channel of economic power in which the Company was at the top, Chief merchants, merchants and lastly the working caste groups. The Company and the intermediaries benefitted through the exploitation or control over these groups. There is more concern on the study as it would help to unravel the social economical and the cultural aspect of history.

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF "DESTRUCTION OF CHERA SHIPS" BY THE CHOLAS AT KANTHALUR SALAI

K.V. Ramakrishna Rao

Introduction – the issue for study: The expression found in the Cholas' inscription about the "destruction of the Chera ships at Kanthalur salai" has led to different interpretation by the epigraphists, historians and researchers for about more than 100 years. During the "Imperial Cholas" period – 975-1250 CE, they were dominating the "Cholas Ocean," now known as "Bay of Bengal" and the oceanic waters of SEA countries, exercising impact on the Chinese also

upto South China Sea, implying the powerful maritime and navigational activities. As they were very much in need of ships, it is intriguing to note as to how they could have destroyed the ships of the Cheras. Therefore, here, the problems involved have been –

1. Identification of Kanthalur salai.
2. Interpretation of the word "salai" in Tamil and Malayalam.

3. Understanding the meaning of such expression.
4. Decoding the puzzle between Chola-Chera "love-hate" relationships during 10th-11th centuries.
5. If ships were destroyed, were/ was there any naval battle?
6. Arriving at plausible, sustainable and certain conclusion.

Chera Ships destroyed at Kanthalur Salai in 998 CE:

The earliest reference to the destruction of the ships at Kandalursalai is found in the epigraphs dated in the 8th regnal year, i.e, 993 CE of the reign of Rajaraja, where, he is referred to by the simple epithet¹ "Kandalur-salai kalam-arutta-Rajakesarivarman", then, up to the 13th year of reign 998 CE². The fact of the omission of this achievement in earlier inscriptions than the 8th, suggests that it must have been taken place in that year, i.e, 998 CE. If so, it must relate to an expedition against the Kerala, different from the one which gave Rajaraja the surname Mummudi-Chola already in the 4th year of reign 989 CE, because "Mummudi" Chola connotes, with three "Head-gears" of Chera-Chola-Pandyas. Inscriptions of Rajaraja I have been found at Tirunandikkurai, Eraniel, Suchindiram, Cape Comorin and other places in the Travancore State, thus establishing his conquest of the Kerala and Pandya countries. Some of these are dated in the 10th year of reign - 995 CE - (Kailasanathapparai at Suchindram) and mention the destruction of the ships at Kandalur. Kandalur is now located in the Malai-nadu³, as a part of Trivandrum situated south. It is also mentioned as "Valiyasalai"⁴. That it was situated on the coastal areas is confirmed by the inscriptional description, "Kanthalursalai of Cheras made him to hear the waves"⁵. Based on Minchirai madham manuscript of recent origin also, it is identified accordingly⁶. During that time, the Cheranadu areas were ruled by Baskara Ravivarman from 978 to 1036 CE as per the inscriptions⁷. For some reason, he treated the ambassador sent by Rajaraja very badly, arrested and imprisoned at Udigai. This is revealed through the poet, Ottakkuttar in his Vikrama Chola Ula.⁸ After defeating Amarabuyangan, he marched on to Cherandu, defeated Chera army and released his ambassador from Udiyan. Victory in the battle of Udagai is claimed for him

in the Kalingattupparani also⁹. He also defeated Cheras at Vizhinjam on the western coast¹⁰. From the last authority and certain stone epigraphs we learn that this king was born in the asterism Satabhishaj¹¹. Thus, Kanthalur is located on the western coast of Malabar, of the medieval Chera Kingdom.

Whether "kalamaruttal" was carried on from the Land or Sea route?:

Then, an important question arises as to, had the Cholas conquered / defeated Chera ships, such feat was achieved by the chola army marching towards the port cities by land route or any other fleet was also involved in it. The defeat of Lanka had been only with navy in 981 CE and therefore, they might have kept a fleet of batallion strategically there or at Cape Comorin to check the movement of their trade adversaries and piracy activities. In other words, these skirmishes were not for conquering areas or kingdoms, but, evidently, economic reasons, as the Arabs and Chinese were hobnobbing with the Srivihaya, Sinhalese, Pandyas and Cheras. Therefore, during the "kalamaruttal" i.e, checking, controlling and regulating ships, such Cholas' fleet could have also participated.

Kalamaruttal continued till Kulotunga Chola – I (1070-1120 CE):

After the death of Adhirajendra Chola, the Pandyas and Cheras tried to regain their lost territories to the Cholas and refused to pay tributes. Therefore, Kulotunga Chola – I had to control them and hence proceeded with army. After defeating Pandyas, he marched towards Cheranadu and fought with the Chera army at Vizhinjam situated 10 miles south of Tiruvanthapuram, Kandalur salai of Tiruvanthapuram and Kottaru 10 miles north of Cape Comorin respectively¹². Kulotunga Chola-I defeated the Chera army twice at Kanthalur Salai, in which many Chera soldiers were killed¹³. Thereafter, Chera started paying tribute. He established armies at Kottaru and other places to check the activities and the one that set-up at Kottaru was known as "Kottaru batallion."¹⁴ Thus, it could be noted that the battles or skirmishes were mainly about "tributes" or taxes collected or not paid to the Cholas. As "kalamaruttal" continued from 10th century to 11th century, it is evident that "kalamaruttal" was not an act of destruction of ships.

The Cholas' marital and other relationships with Cheras and Cheranadu:

In 1921 itself, K. V.

Subrahmanya Aiyar¹⁵ gave interesting details about the friendly relationship existed between the Cheras and Cholas during the reigns of Parantaka I (907-953 CE), as in the days of Aditya I (871-907 CE). Udhayendra copper plates specifically recorded that One of the queens of Parantaka-I had been Kokkizhanadi (கோக்கிழானடி) was a Chera princess¹⁶. Rajaditya was the son of this queen, and one of her servants built the Tiruttondisvara temple at Tirunamallur in the South Arcot district. Nili, the daughter of the Chera king Vijayaraga, visited Tiruvotriyur in the Chola dominion and made presents to the Siva temple of Adhipurisvra¹⁷. The army and retinue of prince Rajaditya had many persons, who were natives of the west coast (Cheranadu)¹⁸.

- In fact, Vellankumaran, the general of Rajaditya, was of the Kerala country. Besides, there were many named in inscriptions as (inscription nos are given in the brackets for convenience) –
- Iravikodai (331/02), Iyakkan Raman of Malai-nsdu (346/02),
- Tirukkunrapolan Sandakumaran (343/02), Valakulasundaran of Kandyur in Malai-nadu (341/02),
- Kandan Kaman of Mankarai in Vachchanadu, a subdivision of Neduumpuraiyur-nadu (337/02) and
- Marjavallan Kannan of Isaumangalam in Nedunkalai-nadu figure in the inscriptum of Parantaka I found at Tirunamanallur.

Therefore, how suddenly Chera kings could have become hostile towards Cholas and Barkara Ravivarman could imprison the Chola ambassador to start battle between these dynasties is intriguing and therefore, the reason could be more than political, i.e, economic, as already pointed out.

Kalam has many meanings – accepted by earlier interpreting scholars:

1. Measure / feeding utensil: S. Desikavinayakam Pillai¹⁹ interpreted that it might mean that "the *scale of feeding* in the feeding-house of Kandalur was regulated by the king."
2. Academy: T.N. Subrahmanyam, after discussing the *salai*, an academy established at Arthivasekharapuram by Karunandadakkan, the Ay king of Venadu, concluded that Rajaraja I might have, in the course of his southern expedition, come into conflict with the members of the academy a quasi-educational military' organization and must have used force in getting control over it. His explanation is far-fetched as Tamil kings never interfered in the normal functioning of local bodies except in cases of maladministration, defalcation or gross indiscipline. Further, he examined the use of the expression in a Rajakesarivarman inscription at Kovil levarayan-pettai²⁰ and advanced the view' that this expression was used²¹ in the sense of "having gained a victory by defeating the opponents."
3. Ship: But he himself admitted that the term *kalam* might have more than one meaning, and that it might mean *ship*²², as is used in the *prasasti* of Rajendra I: "*alai-kadal-nadwil-pala-kalam-selutti*".
4. Vedic school: T.N. Subramaniam, had been of the view that both Kanthalur Salai and Parthivasekarapuram Vedic schools must have functioned autonomously, without any royal control.
5. Vedic school: Thereafter, K.K. Pillai, had suggested that when Raja Raja Chola wanted to bring about changes in the functioning of the Vedic school at Kanthalur Salai, its trustees, who had functioned independently till then, must have resented it. Raja Raja Chola, therefore, must have despatched his soldiers to bring the rebellious teachers and pupils under his control.
6. University / colleges attached to temples: Kandalur Salai was considered as the Nalanda of the South. The Tiruvalla Salai and Muzhikulan Salai were the two important Salais that assumed importance during the Kulasekharas and they offered specialised courses of studies in different branches of learning such as Philosophy, Grammar, Law, Geology, etc. An inscription of the 12th or 13th century,

found in the Mani Kantaswara temple at Kottarakkara mentions of Salais or vedic colleges attached to it and also certain restrictions and privileges in regard to the admission of the people to this Salai²³.

Whether Kanthalur Salai was a University?:

Many Kerala researchers taking clue from the word "salai" and equating with "a place of educational centre" like university, they interpreted accordingly and conclude that the "system of salai" came to end in 13th century thereafter, because of the attacks of the Cholas. Epigraphical records prove the destruction of Kanthalur Salai – the Takshasila of the South-by the Cholas during 999 to 1124 CE. 'Kanthalur Salai Kalam arutharuli' means the destruction of 95 seats or kalam or plates of Kanthalur the Vedic College located at Vizhinjam. Thus, it is evident that there is no clear cut and definite meaning arrived at for the word "Salai". During the war, the salai was shifted to the Mahadevar temple of Aryachalai of Trivandrum²⁴. As the Cholas were promoting all types of arts and sciences for the temple-building to shipbuilding, it is credulous, redundant and contradicting that they attacked and destroyed an educational place or institutions like "University".

The members of "Kandalur kalam" were "strong well-knit organization of arms-bearing brahmins called cattar":

M.G.S.Narayanan²⁵ discussed about "cattar, Cathirar" group existing in Kerala based on the 10th-11th centuries and 13th-14th-15th centuries inscriptions and argued that they were²⁶, "*strong well-knit organization of arms-bearing brahmins called cattar who were proficient both in fighting and in vedic and sastraic studies,*" the adding that, "*.....by about the 13th century this community had degenerated and disintegrated to such an extent that many of the cattar were boastful warriors and practitioners of black-magic*," and then concluded²⁷ that, "*These pices of information, when put together help us to understand the very significant role played by the community of arms-bearing brahmin scholars in the spread of Vedic Aryan colonies and culture in South India. Incidentally this new knowledge about educational, economic and military aspects of Aryanization clarifies the mystery which*

has long surrounded the penetration of Aryan influence into non-Aryan territories. If one may be permitted to hazard a guess, this salai or ghatika organization dedicated men with a missionary zeal which does not figure in early Hindu literature which emerges in South Indian records from the 4th-5th centuries of the Christian era must have been a characteristic contribution of the Brahmanical Hindu renaissance of the Gupta age."

Analysis of "arms-bearing brahmins" and "Aryanization":

If this interpretation has to be accepted, the Cholas would not have attacked such "Brahmin guild", league or union, as the cholas have been accused of favouring Brahmins by lavishly donating tax-free lands to them. Moreover, if the Cholas were to be treated as "Aryans", then, they would not have attacked "Salai" affecting the "Brahmins," who were considered as "Aryans". Again, the Sangam literature amply proves that "Aryanization" had already taken place during the period – c.500-300 BCE to 100 CE. Therefore, the non-Aryan territories need not have waited for Cattars- "*arms-bearing brahmins*" for "Aryanization." The very conceptual interpretations that "Aryanization" taken place through "Brahman-warriors," who were "*...degenerated and disintegrated to such an extent that many of the cattar were boastful warriors and practitioners of black-magic*," about 13th century has been definitely, a hazardous guess and not sustainable, tenable and historical²⁸. Moreover, now, historians do not subscribe to Aryan, non-Aryan race, racist and racialist theories.

Discussion about the crucial words "kalam" and "aru":

First the connotations of the words "kalam" and "aru" are discussed as mentioned, understood and implied in "Sangam literature", Pattuppattu and Ettuttogai. As per the Sangam literature, the word "kalam" has the following connotations²⁹:

1. ornaments, jewels
2. Vessel, bowl, brazen dish etc., for eating
3. boat, ship
4. vessel made of clay
5. container to have eatables, grains, etc

6. vessel used for milking
7. container used for drinking liquor
8. weapon
9. musai – a crucible, an earthen mould for casting molten materials

Later other meanings like - dry liquid measure of 12 maceals, 27th lunar asterism – Revathi, stringed instrument like yash, guitar etc., were added.

The word “aru”: As per the Sangam literature, the word “aru” has the following connotations³⁰:

1. six - as an adjective.
2. An animal – as a noun
3. Connected with cloth
4. Cut – implied as Indra cut Muruga into six parts.

Then, it attained the other expressions as follows:

1. cut, break, reap, root out,
2. be cut assunder, cease, end, vanish, finish, destroy,
3. Distribute (cut, divide and distribute)
4. tease, worry (one by inflicting action)
5. make woman widow (by killing her husband, as her Tali has to be removed or cut)
6. saw (wood, metal sheet etc)
7. clear doubt, remove obstacles, decide.

Therefore, “kalamaru” and “kalamaruttal” could have all sorts of interpretation, but, in the context and material period, the suitable meaning has to be taken. That is why, even, those interpreted kalam as “a place of education”, University etc., they did not imply its destruction, but, change and shifting. Having understanding the meanings of “kalam” and “aruttal”, the economic affairs connecting with the issues have to be dealt with.

The “Pepper war” at Calicut, Cholas taxation on pepper etc: During Sung dynasty (967-1279), the Chinese trade started with the Cholas at Nagapatnam and then moved to the Chera ports. Incidentally, the Chinese junks moved from Zeyton and Canton to the Cholas territories

passing through pearl fisheries³¹. As the ships had been competing with each other, there have been “Pepper wrecks” recognized by the marine archaeologists. The Chinese attraction for pearls was also pointed out by the scholars³². Obviously, the more demand for pepper for China would have motivated to play “Srivijaya type” trick with the Cheras. Thus, the Chola-Chera implicit internal skirmishes are more revealed in the Chola-Chinese explicit encounters. The Chinese documents persistently mention that pepper was great demand in China. They assert³³, “*So-li came with tribute in 1403 with Calicut and trouble over the pepper tax*”. Wang Gungwu³⁴, a researcher recently notes that, the editors of the Chinese records were “frankly puzzled” and added to the confusion by recording in Ch.325, 14b, that a mission came from Has-yang-So-li (Chola) which had the same trouble with the authorities over the tax on pepper. He adds that the error arose because of an entry in the 16th century work, Shu-yu Chou-tzu-Lu by Yen- Ts’ung-chien (Ch.8, 251), which says that So-li came with tribute in 1403 with Calicut and had trouble over the pepper tax drawing attention to Duyvendak³⁵. However, he points out that “*in the YLSL (Yongle shilu), there is no record of missions from either Calicut or So-li in 1403, and Yen-Ts’ung-Chien probably mistook Hsi-Yang La-ni for His-yang-Ku-li which he understood to mean the two countries Hsi-yang (So-li) and Ku-li (Calicut)*” [emphasis added].

Cholas levied tax on the imports and exports through Calicut: Interestingly, “Cholan Purvapattaiyam” (Cholas old copperplate)³⁶ a work assigned to 18th century gives the details of entry and exit tax imposed on the ships at Cochin and Nagapatnam ports. A representative of Chera King, mentioned as Samaya Mudali was authorized to collect Tax on ships in the Cochin area with a tariff of 10 gold coins for entering ships and 5 gold coins for going out. This tax charging authority was inscribed on a copperplate and as well as in an inscription on the Kanakasabai Pillai situated inside the Sankaranarayanalinga Temple³⁷. Similar tax on ships was imposed at Nagapatnam also³⁸. Here, it has to be noted that Cochin, Calicut and Nagapatnam ports had been frequently visited by the Chinese selling their goods. In fact, O. K. Nambiar³⁹ points out that there was bitter trade rivalry between the Arabs and the Chinese and the dominant Arabs had gone to the extent of

destroying a Chinese settlement there in Calicut. Nagapatnam had been the nerve centre of Chinese trade and as well as the Shielendra-Srivijaya diplomatic conflicts. In 1005, cholas gifted a village-revenue for the maintenance of the Srivijaya temple at Nagapatnam. In 1015, after sending a mission to China, getting recognition as “a major tributary kingdom” in 1016 and attacking Srivijaya in 1017 shows the Chinese interference in the commercial transaction rather than inter-royal rivalry between the two dynasties. As piracy was also raised as an issue, it could be a pirate related conflict that had been common among the non-Indian ships. Huge quantities of pepper moving from Kedah / Srivijaya to China through Thailand. Thus, the Chinese and the Arabs must have engaged themselves in such pirate activities that could be reflected in the Calicut Arab-Chinese encounter⁴⁰. The impost of tax and the conflicts during the period strengthen the proposition of piracy, smuggling and other non-ethical trading activities of the Arabs and the Chinese.

Ship-breaking or ship scrap exported from the Cheranadu:

James Hoenell gives the following interesting details⁴¹ after describing the clumsy boats and ships used by the Kerala people, of course comparing with that of the Arabs: *“As soon as the south-west monsoon moderates, Arab buggalas begin to arrive, those from the Persian Gulf with dates, those from Karachi and Bombay with more general cargo. The cargoes having been discharged, those requiring it are hove down on the beach to get advantage of the excellent repair facilities existing here. Then the return cargo of Gulf boats must comprise a big assortment of ship-building materials for the boat-building yards of Bahrein, Koweit and Tigris and Euphrates; the nahkudah and his men have a busy time for weeks on end, selecting and chaffering over the purchase of timber and coir yarn, blocks and bolts, and all the varied etceteras of ship chandlery. Then the timber must be sawn and the coir yarn twisted into cordage and the huge hawsers these men love, under their immediate supervision”*. Thus, the description proves the following fact:

- Excellent repair facilities were available at the ports of the Malabar Coast.
- Ship-breaking yards were there with facilities.

- The used, worn-out and rejected ships were dismantled and the parts moved down on the beach (repair-yard or building yard).
- Different types of parts of ship, accessories including timber, coir yarn, blocks and bolts were sold (However, the other parts are not mentioned).
- Dealers were there for bargaining, negotiating and perhaps conducting barter for getting such ship chandlery [a chandler is a dealer in supplies and equipment for ships and boats].
- The return cargo to the middle-east and other countries carried these important shipbuilding materials.

So when such activities could happen during 18th – 19th centuries, had such chaffering of chandlery carried on by the unrelenting Cheras, there is nothing unusual by the Cholas to control them through the act of “Kalamaruttal”. Thus, the expression “Kalamaruttu” used in the Cholas inscription has nautical connotation and naughty one that is used by the Tamil knowing scholars.

Discussion of “Kalamaruttal”: Based on the above evidences, the following points are discussed:

1. The epithet “Kandalur-salai kalam-arutta” has been found not only for Rajaraja, but also for Rajendra – I⁴², Rajadhiraja – I⁴³, Kulothungan – I⁴⁴ and even for Pandya King Jadavarman Paranthaka Pandyan⁴⁵.
2. Thus, its meaning was changing during the course of period, and hence, it cannot be equated exactly with “destruction”.
3. The “kalamaruttal” activities continued upto Kulotunga-I reign.
4. “Salai” could be a place for learning in Malayalam context, but, in the context, the battles were definitely connected with ships and ship related activities and issues.
5. As the Cholas were involved in maritime activities with their ships sailing to SEA countries and upto China, they had not destroyed the ships.
6. Rajaraja defeated the Chera ships or fleet (kalamaruttu) and restored them to Cheras (aruli), as has been the nature of Indian

Kings. This could be understood with how he had dealt with Kings on his march towards Ganges and return.

Conclusion after analysis - The Cholas act of "Kalamaruttal": The Cholas act of "Kalamaruttal" is reinterpreted by the author for as follows⁴⁶.

1. The expression "Kalamaruttal" should not be taken simply as Kalam + Aruttal i.e, cutting of the ships and hence the act of destroying ships.
2. The nautical, navigational and seafaring experts and professionals like the Cholas would and could not have been so foolish to cut or destroy the fleet or ships at Kantalursalai.
3. Thus, Kalamaruttal has to be understood in the nautical and maritime context.
4. Kalamaruttal could be ship-dismantling, ship-breaking, ship-rebuilding and related activities.
5. For carrying out such activities, there must have been established ship-yards,

workshops, cutting, sawing, joining and other equipments and machineries.

6. Of course, the workers, experts and technical personnel should have been there with required skills.
7. So when the Cheras possessed such facilities, but were not providing to the Cholas or honouring the orders, definitely, the powerful Cholas could have taken action.
8. Or when the Cholas were reigning supreme, their ship-building yards must be working at different places – Srivijaya, Maldives, Sri Lanka and Cheranadu / Malabar.
9. Thus their action taken against these nations during their oversea campaigns could be understood in the right perspective and in the context.
10. When the foreigners could have been engaged in such activities in India with the permission, it is ironical that the Cholas could not have done or they should have been accused of for not leaving any material evidences.

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Chap.11, line.72.
13. சேலைத் துரந்து சிலையைத்
தடிந்திருகாற்
சாலை கலமறுத்த தண்டினான் – Vikrama
Cholan Ula, lines.46-48.
வெள்ளாற்றுங் கோட்டாறும்
புகையான்மூட - Kalingattupparani, Chap.3,
line.21.
Epigrapha Indica, Vol.V, No.13A.
14. கோட்டாற்று நிலைப்படை
தரணிவிச்சாதிரத்தறும்பில் படையிலான்
தமிழன் மாணிக்கம் வசம்
விட்டசாமாமுவாப் பேராடு - Travancore
Archaeological Series, Vol.I, p.247.
15. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Travancore
Archaeological Series*, Trivandrum, 1921, Vol.III,
Part-II, pp. 111-112.
16. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII. p. 133; South-Indian
Inscriptions, Vol. II, No.76, p. 3&3, verse 8 and No.
261 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for
1907. 2 Swth-Indmn
17. South Indian Inscriptions. Vol.III, p.236.
18. Annual Report of the Director General of
Archaeology in India, for 1905-6 p. 181.
19. S. Desikavinayakam Pillai, Kerala Society
Papers, 2. pp. 100 ff.
20. T.N. Subrahmanyan, SII, XIII, no. 250
21. T.N. Subrahmanyan, South Indian Temple
Inscriptions, III, Pt.II, pp.1-16.
22. T.N. Subrahmanyan, South Indian Temple
Inscriptions, III, Pt.II, note 4, p. 13
23. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Social and Cultural History
of India-Kerala*, Sterling Publications, New Delhi,
p.164.
24. Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyer, *Progress of
Travancore Under H.H. Sree Moolam Thirunal*,
Trivandrum, 1989, p.16.
25. Narayanan, M. G. S. *Kandalur Salai – New light on
the Nature of Aryan Expansion in South
India, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*.
Vol. 32. Indian History Congress, 1970, pp.125-
136.
26. Ibid, p.126.
27. Ibid, pp.132-133.
28. Ironically, M.G.S. Narayanan ended his paper with
this line, "Further search in the records of Aryavarta
may probably throw light on its origins and course
of evolution too. However, at this end, Kerala, the
story of its later decadence and disintegration is
preserved in fragmentary form in late medieval
manipravala literature". M.G.S. Narayanan, *op.cit*,
p.133.
29. R. Sarangapani (publisher), *Sanga Ilakkiya Porut
Kalanjiyam (A Dictory of Sangam Literature)*, Tamil
University, Thanjavur, 2002, Vol.2, pp.153-168.
30. R. Sarangapani (publisher), *Sanga Ilakkiya Porut
Kalanjiyam (A Dictory of Sangam Literature)*, Tamil
University, Thanjavur, 2001, Vol.1, pp 128-129.
31. Marco Polo provides the first eyewitness account
of Chinese vessels sailing between coastal China
and southern Indian ports. Marco Polo, who
embarked at Quanzhou in 1292 for his journey
across the Indian Ocean, describes in detail the
ships engaged in transporting goods between
Quanzhou and India. These ships, built with fir and
pine wood, with nailed hulls, and having multiple
masts and cabins, were capable of carrying a load
of as much as 1,860 tons. Almost half a century
later, the Moroccan traveler Ibn Batūtūta reports
seeing thirteen Chinese ships anchored in the
harbor at Calicut and remarked, "On the sea of
China travelling is done in Chinese ships only."
Sen, Tansen. "Maritime interactions between China
and India: coastal India and the ascendancy of
Chinese maritime power in the Indian
Ocean." *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies* 2
(2011): pp.41-82.
32. Pepper wrecks – give such details.
33. Leo Suryadinata (Ed.), *Admiral Zheng He & South-
east Asia*, Institute of South-east Asian Studies, 30
Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Singapore – 119 614,
2008, p.23.
34. Wang Gungwu, *The opening of relations between
China and Malacca, 1403-05*, Chap.1 of the above
book, fn.15, p.23.
35. Duyvendak, TP xxxiv.356. In the first year of Yung-
lo (1403) ambassadors from Calicut and So-li had
arrived presenting horses as tribute. They had been
permitted to import pepper free from customs
duties, and the officials concerned had been
ordered to build two hundred and fifty ships for the
needs of an embassy to the countries of the
Western Ocean), p.356; for details, see –
Duyvendak, Jan Julius Lodewijk. *The true dates of
the Chinese maritime expeditions in the early
fifteenth century*, *T'oung Pao* 34.Livr. 5 (1939):
341-413.
36. T. M. Ramachandra Chettiyar, *Colan
Purvapattaiyam*, Government Oriental Manuscript
Library, Madras, 1950 published based on a palm-
leaf manuscript D. No.2981 and paper manuscript
R. No. 1503.
37. Ibid, pp.174-175.
38. Ibid.194.
39. O. K. Nambiar, *An Illustrated Maritime History of
Indian Ocean*,
40. This is similar to the Dutch-British encounter in
Batavia reflected in the Pulicat affairs.
41. James Hornell, *The Origin and Ethnological
Significance of Indian Boat Design*, pp.22.
42. Ep. Rep. 368/17.
43. S. I. III. P. 56
44. Vikrama Chola Ula, 24.
45. Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. I, p. 18.
46. K. V. Ramakrishna Rao, *The Cholas Kattumaram
and the Chinese Junks*, Proceedings of the
Tamilnadu History Congress, Polachi, 2010,
pp.187-190.